WORKS IN PROGRESS

VOLUME 15, NUMBER 9 | THURSTON COUNTY RAINBOW COALITION | JANUARY 2005

100,000 and counting

An Ancient Fable Revisited

by Deb Langhans

The ancient Indian fable, "The Seven Blind Men and the Elephant" has intrigued me since childhood. In the story, seven blind men are asked to describe an elephant; because each man touches a different part of the creature's anatomy, each perceives and describes a different elephant. Based on my interaction with fellow Puget Sound residents over the past month, the most current manifestation of that fable appears to be the Iraq war.

Last November, my husband, Keith, and I discovered a distinguished research team's perception of the war in a new study recently published in Britain's foremost medical journal, *The Lancet*, entitled "Mortality Before & After The 2003 Invasion of Iraq: A Cluster Sample Survey." This independent, peer-reviewed study, conducted by researchers at Columbia University, Johns Hopkins and Al-Mustansiriya in Baghdad, concluded that at least 100,000 Iraqi civilians have died because of the U.S. invasion last year.

The estimated death number of 100,000 is considerably higher than previous estimates. The study found the rise in death rate was mainly due to violence, and much of it was caused by U.S. air strikes on towns and cities; most of the victims were women and children.

Like many fellow Olympians, the aftermath of November 2nd brought intense shock and grief for Keith and I. News of* The Lancet *study exacerbated our rage, shame and sense of helplessness; it also helped shape our own perception of the Iraq war.

The number of violent deaths in Fallujah, Iraq was approximately ten times higher than the study team found anywhere else and was not included in the report's 32-neighborhood death count estimate.

Just three days before *The Lancet* study appeared, the Iraq Body Count (IBC) website published its analysis of the civilian death toll in the first (April '04) siege of Fallujah: Between 572 and 616 of the approximately 800 reported deaths were of civilians, with over 300 of these being women and children. No conclusive analysis of the second and more aggressive siege of Fallujah, begun immediately after the 2004 Presidential Election, was available at the time of this writing.

Like many fellow Olympians, the aftermath of November 2nd brought intense shock and grief for Keith and I. News of *The Lancet* study exacerbated our rage, shame and sense of helplessness; it also helped shape our own perception of the Iraq war. In the early morning hours of November 14th, a simple idea began to take shape; the idea quickly expanded into a three-phase campaign we decided to call, "100 Thousand & Counting…".

"100 Thousand and Counting…" is a non-partisan, non-violent, educational outreach campaign created to honor the Iraqi civilians killed thus far in the Iraq war, inform the American people about that significant and needless loss of innocent life, and appeal to both national and international leadership to end the war.

The Campaign's first phase will culminate on January 15th on Olympia's Capitol Campus, where 1,000 Puget Sound residents will create a "death tableau" (a silent, motionless scene) and memorial to honor the slain Iraqi civilians. Each participant will represent 100 Iraqis; during the hour they're lying as if dead, names of the slain will be read, and community members will offer multi-denominational and multi-cultural prayers, chanting, peace reflections and songs to further honor the fallen.

In the Campaign's second phase, cards will be printed using photos taken at the Death Tableau and Memorial and an appropriate peace message. These will be sent to national and international

("100,000 " - continued on page 4)

Building a Movement against the Shipment of Weapons to Iraq

by Peter Bohmer

Like many other communities, activism in Olympia, Washington against the war and the U.S. occupation of Iraq declined somewhat since the large protests in February and March 2003. Currently, although the victory by Bush and the Republicans nationally has caused significant despair, activism against the occupation has picked up again in Olympia. There is the potential locally and possibly, beyond to build a movement against war supplies going to Iraq.

On Friday, November 5th, from 7 A.M to 9 A.M., about 200 people held anti-war signs and distributed informational leaflets against the war at 15 major intersections in Olympia, Lacey and Tumwater. The strongest presence was at the 4th Avenue Bridge in Olympia where 70 people organized by the recently formed Code Pink chapter held up banners and talked to passer- by. The reception was very positive; many people driving and walking by commented that seeing people in the street protesting reduced their feelings of isolation and powerlessness. On Saturday, November 6th, a peace and justice summit organized by the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace (OMJP) drew 140 people. This was larger than the organizers expected. Many attendees had been Kerry supporters, who now wanted to get involved in organizing against the War, and against neoconservative policy, attacks on civil liberties and civil rights, and the pro-rich person agenda of the Bush administration.

In response to the murderous attacks on Falluja and anticipating the expected loading of a ship with war supplies for Iraq, there were daily vigils at the Port of Olympia beginning on November 15th.

This action has led to a strong, healthy and unresolved debate among the anti-war movement in Olympia about the effectiveness and morality of the property damage that occurred.

The ship, the Intrepid, docked on November 17th and loaded cargo for a planned departure for Iraq on Thursday, the 18th. OMJP called for a rally at the port on that day. About 100 people attended. Featured speakers were military veterans. Their message was that ending the war was a way to support U.S. troops. Sending military supplies would further the continuing war against the Iraqi people and cause more U.S. casualties.

After the rally at 5:00 P.M., many people from the rally joined by others, marched to a fence about 50 yards away that separated the public space from the actual Port of Olympia where the ship was being loaded. Members of the crowd cut down the fence. The small initial police presence grew quickly as large numbers of police from various jurisdictions, many in riot gear arrived. Two demonstrators were arrested for trespassing. None of the demonstrators interfered with the loading of the ship which sailed out to sea about 8 P.M. that night loaded with trucks, helicopters and various supplies for the U.S. military in Iraq.

Tactical and Philosophical Differences

On Friday, November 19th, the local daily newspaper, *The Olympian*, carried a front page story on the action at the port with pictures of masked protesters and a focus on the $3500 of damage to the fence. This action has led to a strong, healthy and unresolved debate among the anti-war movement in Olympia about the effectiveness and morality of the property damage that occurred. To some extent, there are age and cultural differences among those who supported and opposed the tearing down of the fence. Similar debates took place in Olympia and beyond about direct action versus legal rallies and demonstrations at the WTO protests, which occurred five years ago sixty miles north in Seattle.

Those who argued that tearing down the fence and if possible delaying the ship's departure was a positive and necessary act claimed that this action was non-violent, and dramatically illustrated Olympia's complicity with the U.S. murderous policy in Falluja and Iraq. Participants in this action want to emphasize and make visible to people in the United States and beyond that the United States government does not represent them, that there is a significant group of people who will not allow U.S. aggression to occur in their name. It is an attempt to raise the social cost of the war by showing through actions the growing forms of resistance that will occur in the United States as the war continues. The participants in this action and its advocates were primarily younger people.

Many of the people over 30 years old and many of the members of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace (OMJP), a longtime local group, did not support the property damage. They believed tearing down the fence would become the issue rather than the war. Some members of OMJP believed as a result of the

("Movement" continued on page 5)

WORKS IN PROGRESS

Works In Progress is a free, volunteer operated progressive community newspaper based in Olympia, WA. Opinions expressed do not necessarily reflect those of the Workers In Progress and are solely those of the authors.

Submissions:

Please send text as Word attachments. Artwork and photos can be sent electronically or we can scan them for you as camera-ready/ black & white.

WIP reserves the right to publish in whole or part all submissions. For editing purposes, please enclose your phone number.

Articles may be reprinted. Please cite source.

If you don't see your issue being covered in Works In Progress, it's because you aren't writing about it! (Or aren't finding someone else to cover it!)

Send submissions to ***wip@zhonka.net*** or mail to Works In Progress, PO Box 295, Olympia, WA 98507-0295.

Governing Tool:

The following statement is part of the Editorial Policy and is the governing tool for the Anti-Discrimination Clause:

WIP will make every effort to work with the contributor of material considered by WIP to be offensive in order to reach a mutually agreed upon resolution, but WIP reserves the right as a last resort to edit or not print submitted material.

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Mission Statement:

"Our aim is to confront injustice and encourage a participatory democracy based on economic, social, and environmental justice. Works In Progress is dedicated to providing a voice for those most affected by the exclusionary and unfair practices that seek to silence the oppressed."

Anti-Discrimination Clause:

We will collectively endeavor to be sensitive and respectful to all those oppressed in this society, and their issues. However, if and when we should make a mistake in this regard, we expect to acknowledge it and to express regret for injury or insult given.

Back Issues:

Get your catalog of indexed WIPs below. Some back issues are available in the Timberland Library system. WIP is being archived on microfilm by the UW Library.

About the front cover: Olympia resident, 2 year old Kemen and his friends will be the ones to pay the larger part of the bill for the colossal U.S. misadventure in Iraq today.

WIP Schedule

Submission Deadline:

January 21

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wip@zhonka.net * www.olywa.net/

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Announcements, etc.

International Day of Solidarity with Leonard Peltier

12th Annual Northwest Regional March and Rally For Justice
Saturday, February 5, Tacoma
MARCH FOR JUSTICE: 12:00 NOON
Portland Ave. Park (on Portland Ave. between E. 24th and E. Fairbanks Ave. Take Portland Ave. exit off I-5 and head east)
RALLY FOR JUSTICE: 1:00 PM
U.S. Federal Court House, 1717 Pacific Ave, Tacoma

Leonard Peltier is an American Indian Movement Activist who was framed-up by the government after a firefight on the Pine Ridge Oglala Reservation that happened because of an illegal government operation to steal Oglala land for uranium mining. The head of the local FBI office at the time, Norman Zigrossi, defended the illegal actions by saying: "Indians are a conquered nation and the FBI is merely acting as a colonial police force" He went on to say, "When you're conquered, the people you're conquered by dictate your future."

"I have no doubt whatsoever that the real motivation behind both Wounded Knee II and the Oglala firefight, and much of the turmoil throughout Indian Country since the early 1970s, was-and is-the mining companies," Leonard Peltier.

In 2003 the Tenth Circuit Court of Appeals stated in their ruling, "Much of the government's behavior at the Pine Ridge Reservation and in its prosecution of Mr. Peltier is to be condemned. The government withheld evidence. It intimidated witnesses. These facts are not disputed."

The Oglala People were never conquered and Leonard Peltier will not give up the fight for justice. In today's world it is even more important than ever to stand-up to political persecution. The last two years the City of Tacoma has tried to stop our march and last year the city tried to intimidate us with a massive show of police force. It was the support of many good people and a legal team that won us the right to march in Tacoma.

Though our focus has been for 12 years to hold a peaceful march of solidarity with Leonard Peltier, we will not stop marching, we will not be intimidated and we demand the right to come out in public in support of Leonard Peltier without persecution. We ask you to join us at our Annual Regional Tacoma March and Rally in Solidarity with Leonard Peltier as we send the message, we will not give up, we will not surrender, we will continue to stand for justice for Leonard Peltier for how ever long it takes! This action is in support of the important legal efforts of Leonard's legal team

For more information of to: www.leonardpeltier.org .

Free Water Saving Kits for City Sewer Customers

Olympia—City sewer customers can save water and money; and reduce wastewater flow by installing free water saving kits.

Each kit includes a low-flow showerhead, kitchen and bathroom faucet aerators, toilet leak detection tablets, and installation instructions.

Call Olympia's City Line at 753-4444, ext. 8390 to obtain a free water saving kit for your home.

See page 11 for a full schedule of inauguration-week peace and justice actions and events.

The Free School Winter Catalogs are out!

Some of the classes we will be offering this session include: facilitation and consensus training, intro to non-violent communication, art co-op, developing a foundation for healthy living and much more.

Please check our website at: www.olympiafreeschool.org for a complete listing of classes.

Our catalog is also available through Natural Learning, a local journal and resource on community based-learning. This issue entitled "Artist in You" is available at The Free School and is dispersed throughout downtown.

The Free School is located at 808 Jefferson St near the downtown post office.

For more info: www.olympiafreeschool.org.

Movie Showing: The Doctors, the Depleted Uranium and the Dying Children

January 9, 2005, at 4pm

This film exposes the use and impact of radioactive weapons during the current war against Iraq. The story is told by citizens of many nations and opens with comments by two British veterans, Kenny Duncan and Jenny Moore, describing their exposure to radioactive, so-called 'depleted' uranium (DU), weapons and the congenital abnormalities of their children. Images showing the effects of exposure to depleted uranium may be difficult viewing; this film is not recommended for children.

This film series offers thought provoking films and documentaries on issues ranging from civil liberties protection, to the creation of a true democracy, to human rights, to environmental policy. These movies are followed by a facilitated discussion for those interested in finding ways to learn more or take action.

All films are free and are shown at the Olympia Unitarian Universalist

Congregation, located at 2200 East End St NW in Olympia. The film series is co-sponsored by the Social Justice Committee of the Olympia Unitarian Universalist Congregation and Voices for Change. For information, contact Molly Gibbs at mgibbs@olywa.net

WROC Events

Welfare Rights Organizing Coalition holds WROC Night Out on the first Monday of every month at the First United Methodist Church at 1224 Legion Way SE. We start at 5:30 with a potluck and meet from 6 - 8 pm.

On January 3rd, we will hold a legislative training to prepare for the legislative session which begins January 10th. Come and learn more about how the legislative process works and how you can be an effective citizen lobbyist.

WROC holds volunteer meetings every Wednesday afternoon at 1:30 at our office in the Payne Room of the First Christian Church, 701 Franklin Street SE, in downtown Olympia.

Women do 2/3rds of the worlds work for 5% of the income! Women and children are the population most likely to be poor across the globe. Does this seem fair to you? If not, join us for a meeting to plan an Olympia action to join the International Women's Strike on March 8, 2005, is on Sunday, January 9th at 11 am at Traditions Cafe, 300 5th Avenue SW. *Questions? Call 352-9716*

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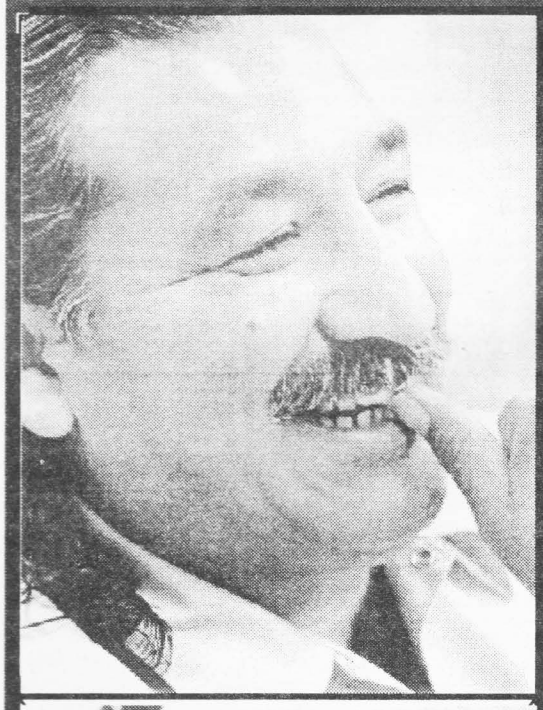
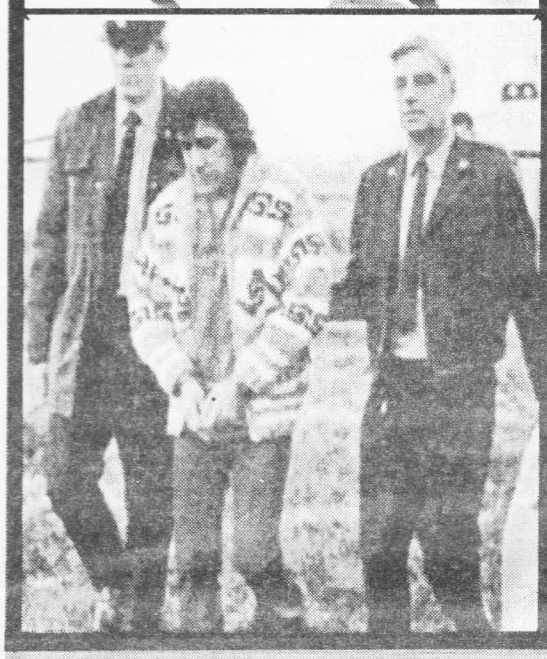




Leonard Peltier

Exonerated after 146 years

To no one's surprise, a "historical court of inquiry and justice" reexamined the 1977 trial against Leonard Peltier and found the Native leader "unjustly convicted and incarcerated." "Substantial evident clearly delineates 'abuse of the investigative process' by government agencies and it is extraordinary that the 8th Circuit failed to grant Mr. Peltier a retrial," stated the chief justice in the court's ruling.

An international human rights organization has long claimed "concerns over the validity of evidence provided by the FBI against Peltier, and the political factors that influenced the way in which his case was conducted." According to its spokesperson, "Amnesty International near the end of the 20th century realized the futility of legal redress and continued during the remainder of Peltier's lifetime to call for his immediate and unconditional release."

"Leonard was an ordinary man who stood against overwhelming odds so that we might have a chance to exist. He was successful, as we are living proof," said a descendant. "I pray to the Creator that the future generations will feel the same about us because we will stand up and will be successful and they will be living proof."

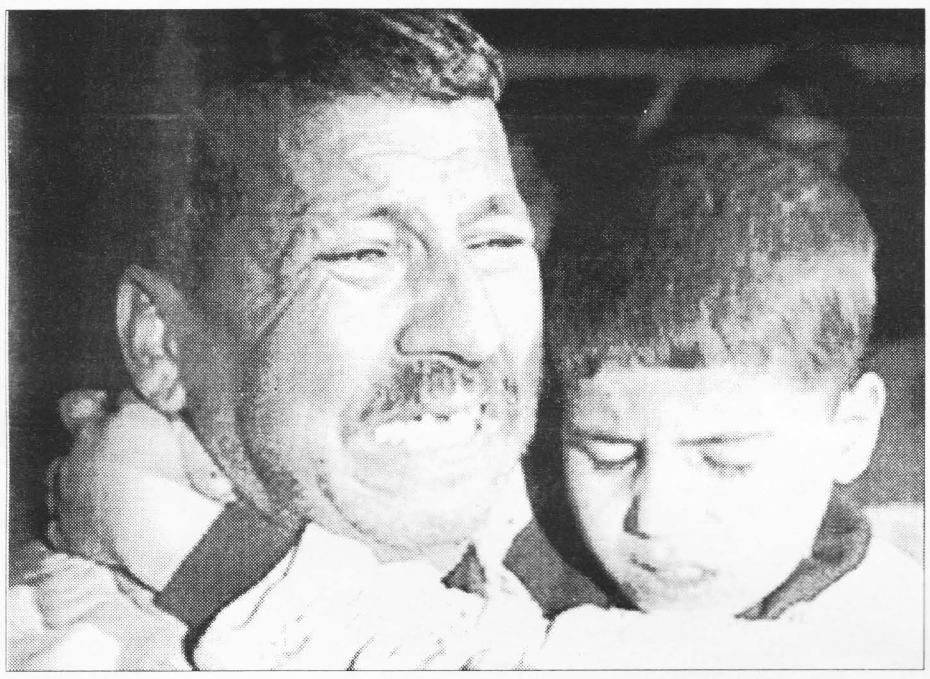
Sources: Amnesty International; Leonard Peltier; Leonard Peltier Defense Committee

Sunday	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday	Saturday
...to the non-Indian: Look now before it's far too late - see what is being done to others in your name and see what destruction you sanction when you say nothing. Your own treaty, the one between yourselves and the government, is being violated daily; this treaty is commonly known as the Constitution. Leonard Peltier						**1** **1995**: Zapatistas lead rebellion in Mexico **2001**: Civil rights groups vow to fight Ashcroft nomination
2 **2003**: Pat Robertson says God told him GW will win in November **2003**: Civilian now guard Fort Lewis gates	**3** **2003**: Prozac available for depressed children **2003**: 3 US soldiers killed in Iraq bringing the total to 486	**4** **1965**: Pres Johnson describes "Great Society" **1999**: Jesse Ventura is sworn in as governor of Minnesota	**5** **1999**: FDA approves canine anti-depressant **2003**: Chris Kirk returns to apartment encased in aluminum foil	**6** **2003**: New York City to pay $3 million for death of West African immigrant Amadou Diallo by NYPD	**7** **2003**: Bush unveils tax program that, surprise, benefits only the rich **2003**: Pepsi to resume production in Iraq	**8** **1998**: WA Supreme Court Xs term limits **2003**: TESC begins Palestinian-Israeli conflict lecture series
9 **2003**: Pentagon rules that Saddam is a prisoner of war **2003**: US death toll in Iraq is now at 495	**10** **2003**: Ex-treasury sec O'Neill claims US laid groundwork for Iraq invasion within days of 2001 inauguration	**11** **2003**: Army War College report criticizes Bush's handling of war on terrorism, claims Iraq war unnecessary	**12** **2003**: Skokomish buys 165 acres in lower Skokomish River valley to preserve important salmon habitat	**13** **2003**: Fed appeals court denys Bush's attempt to lower energy efficiency standards for home air conditioners	**14** **2003**: Tom Hurndall. 22-year-old student shot by Israeli troops dies after 9 months in vegetative state	**15** **2003**: Methodist NW Committee on Investigation to pursue complaint against lesbian pastor in Ellensburg
16 **2003**: Bush bypasses Senate approval installs Charles Pickering as appeals court judge	**17** **1874**: Armed Democrats seizes the state government and puts an end to Radical Reconstruction	**18** **2003**: US troop death toll reaches 500 **2003**: Seattle to pay protesters $250,000 in WTO suit	**19** **2001**: Clinton makes deal to avoid indictment; admits lying under oath and surrendered his law license	**20** **2003**: 1000s of Iraqis demand elections **1949**: J Edgar Hoover gives Shirley Temple a tear gas fountain pen	**21** **2003**: Bush calls increasing resistance by key allies to the invasion of Iraq "a rerun of a bad movie"	**22** **2003**: Gale Norton okays a plan to open most of Alaska's North Slope to oil and gas development
23 **2003**: Pentagon insists Internet voting system it developed for citizens overseas secure though analysts say it isn't	**24** **2003**: Head of UN nuclear agency gives Iraq a B in cooperation and the inspectors need several more months	**25** **1999**: Pentagon bombs Iraqi residential area killing 11; claims jets misfired, and blames Saddam Hussein	**26** **2003**: Ashcroft says Iraq war was justified because Saddam might resort to "evil chemistry and evil biology"	**27** **2003**: Olympia Mayor Foutch says "conference center is dead' **2003**: Bomb kills 6 US soldiers; toll at 519	**28** **2001**: Cheney says power problem in CA "was caused by CA" **2001**: Madalyn O'Hair remains found in TX	**29** **1999**: OR: Police strip 30 middle school female students for items stolen from locker room; nothing found
30 **1800**: US pop 5.3 million, Blacks 1 million **2003**: Belgium becomes 2nd nation to allow gay marriage	**31** **1985**: South Africa President GW Botha offers to free Mandela if he denounces violence	***They describe people defending their homeland as terrorists, savages and hostiles, and accuse us of being aggressors. We have never fought a battle or war that was not on our own land; we never fired the first shot ... ever.*** Leonard Peltier				

("100,000"- cont. from page 1)

leaders and the media as a collective expression of dissent over continued war in Iraq.

A Campaign process manual will be compiled in the final phase as an outreach tool for other cities so the Campaign can



be replicated nationwide. A brief video documentary will also be completed and distributed as applicable.

During my organizing efforts, that Indian fable has played itself out numerous times. When I've tried sharing the Campaign and, consequently, my perspective on the war, with some in my community, their first and often indignant response has been, "What are you doing to honor our U.S. soldiers?!" I've attempted to assure them the Campaign acknowledges the tragic loss of *all* life in the Iraq war, including the lives of over 1,400 U.S. troops and Coalition forces killed since March 2003. *Without question,* we acknowledge the deaths of these American, British, Italian, Polish, Spanish, Ukrainian and other unspecified service members. The Iraqi soldiers who have been killed simply attempting to defend their families and homeland from a colossal invading force further multiply the loss that sadly reinforces the brutal and repugnant reality of all war. All this needless death will be mourned at the January 15th Memorial. Some of my neighbors, however, clearly perceive things from a different vantage point. Fueled by mainstream media, some view the Iraq war as a necessity—even an opportunity—born out of an American crusade to conquer terrorism and "spread freedom." They touch the "elephant" from a nationalistic and ethnocentric position.

The Campaign focuses primarily on innocent Iraqi civilians because the disproportionate number of their dead in their occupied homeland, an estimated 100,000 and counting, grossly violates national and international law; their losses have been drowned by the rhetoric surrounding the war, and underreported, overshadowed or ignored by the media at large.

Given the astounding number of estimated Iraqi civilian deaths, it's predictable the 100,000+ figure has been challenged. "Iraqi Body Count" (IBC) has conducted its own research on civilian deaths and, because they chose to include only those deaths that were provided or confirmed by specific sources like the media, hospitals, morgues, etc., their count was considerably lower. Others have claimed the U.S. can't be held directly responsible for all civilian deaths because some deaths weren't the result of U.S. violence. *The Lancet* study acknowledges that not *all* civilian deaths were caused by violence; but *most* were. Infrastructure collapse, Iraqi children's malnutrition rates, and the rise of infectious diseases have all been ultimately caused or drastically exacerbated by the unsolicited U.S. invasion of Iraq beginning in March of 2003; these factors have killed the remainder of innocent Iraqi civilians.

Our polarized Puget Sound community represents a microcosm of our divided nation. In keeping with the inclusive and non-partisan characteristics of the "100 Thousand & Counting..." Campaign, Keith and I believe the Death Tableau and Memorial can provide a rare and needed opportunity for fellow Puget Sound residents of all faiths, backgrounds and perspectives to join together in a spirit of collective reverence and compassion to create a sacred space, a memorial to life needlessly lost.

No matter what a person's orientation, an elephant is still an elephant. No matter how diverse or compelling the perspectives, war is still war, death is still death. The nationalities and cultures are ultimately irrelevant; so are the exact numbers. It's Keith's and my ardent hope that increasing numbers of our Puget Sound community will choose to become blind to the differences that tempt us to create "enemies" and perpetuate war; that, no matter what our vantage point, we'll choose to recognize, honor and protect our mutual humanity. For to choose otherwise is really to remain complicit in war and its inevitable consequences.

[It is our] ardent hope that increasing numbers of our Puget Sound community will choose to become blind to the differences that tempt us to create "enemies" and perpetuate war; that, no matter what our vantage point, we'll choose to recognize, honor and protect our mutual humanity.

For more information about the "100 Thousand & Counting..." Campaign, and to register participation in the January 15th "Death Tableau," please visit: 100thousandandcounting.org .

See page 11 for a full schedule of inauguration-week peace and justice actions and events.

Safe Food for Change: *formerly the Farm Bank Project*

by Mitch Hopkins

Wow! What a year it has been. Whether you had a good year or a bad year or like me a heavy dose of both and a lot in between, it is time to reflect and learn from what we have done and move on and create our lives all over again (not that I base the first of the year as a focal point for change, I'm speaking more of the coming spring and summer). For the Farm Bank Project, 2004 saw a birth and hibernation. Starting last Janurary, we began canvassing the great citizenry of Olympia for money donations to help grow organic vegetables and start an organic food bank. We planned on getting grants and raising lots of money, starting an education project with various schools, and developing a local CSA calendar to help promote local farms and raise some money for the FBP. The results?

Education: a little. Grants: one from the Community Sustaining Fund, but none from larger and richer entities (they mostly wanted more experience and a board of directors and all that stuff). Internships: one signed up and then quit. Volunteers: Some people (you know who you are) helped sometimes, but the reality of working hard in the sun for 12 hour days to simply feed the community, when most would rather go to the Coop or get a share from a farm or shop at Fred Meyer, especially took hold by August, when even I was tired. Fundraising: 3700 dollars which allowed us to distribute over 2000 pounds of organic produce (I'm not sure how much money that's worth but way more than 3700 dollars). Local CSA calendar: No. A revolution where all residents realize community and buy their food from local farms and put corporate agriculture out of business: hahahaha!

Today's archaic agriculture which poisons the earth, animals, waters, air, adults, and children it is intended to "feed" and "nourish" is not Safe in any way.

Uh, I still feel the farm bank was a success. We raised 3700 dollars at doors of Olympian citizens with faces and a non-profit name that virtually no one had ever heard of. We got seven offers of land in or near Olympia at little or no cost to the organization to grow food for the community. We had numerous canvassers try their luck at the sometimes difficult art of raising money in a greedy economy. We received many thanks and praise for the work we did. We were told that what we were doing was "inspiring". So what does all this lead to? YES! We are going to do it again.

This year will be a little different. We will be called Safe Food for Change, instead of The Farm Bank Project. One reason is Susie Kyle of Winlock Meadows Farm will keep the FBP name for her own projects. Another is I felt the new name more identifies what should be changed about our current food systems. Today's archaic agriculture which poisons the earth, animals, waters, air, adults, and children it is intended to "feed" and "nourish" is not Safe in any way. We'd like to focus more on community involvement and education too. This means we need to raise money and since we have been hibernating, (actually working jobs that pay the bills) a lot of work is to be done by the beginning of the growing season. Our goal again is to raise 10,000 dollars. We would like to hire a part-time education specialist who would garden, make a small worm farm, and other sustainable projects with kids. We would also like a cheap, small truck (biodiesel?) to use for the summer. Internships from our local colleges would be a great expense saver when it comes to labor. And working connections with other non-profits in town would benefit both SFC and said organizations. We are starting another door-to-door fundraising campaign soon after the first, so if we knock on your door, help out or offer a day or two of volunteer work. Talk with your neighborhood association about raising money or finding families who might need free food once harvest begins in June. Best yet, support local farmers, join a CSA, shop local at the Coops, have fun with your neighbors and community.

For more info on how to get involved or to get a part-time job canvassing call 943-4480. Ask for Carrot.

VICS
PIZZERIA
360.943.8044
233 Division St NW

("Movement" - cont. from page 1)

property damage and pictures in the newspaper of protesters wearing bandannas to cover their faces, residents of Olympia and surrounding communities could easier dismiss the movement and ignore the larger issues. They believe what occurred was counter-productive because it will make it more difficult to reach the broader community and build a stronger anti-war movement. One member of OMJP said to me she would support a highly planned civil disobedience where people sat down near the ship but not what happened on November 18th, 2004. There was general agreement that criticisms and debates about the anti-war actions of others should occur face to face and not in the mainstream media.

My position is that actions such as the ones that occurred at the port are necessary as are rallies and vigils. They must take place, however, in the context of and together with a growing movement that is doing outreach and popular education beyond the anti-war movement. It means talking with people and listening to their concerns one to one and going to churches, workplaces, schools, and community groups to discuss why the U.S. occupation of Iraq is wrong and should be stopped and linking the war to growing economic problems at home such as unaffordable healthcare, childcare and higher education, falling wages and the related ballooning balances of payment deficits. It means talking and listening to people in the military and their families about the immorality and the unwinnability of the war against Iraq. It means dealing with people's concerns that withdrawal by the U.S. would lead to even more bloodshed in Iraq by explaining the overwhelming opposition by the Iraqi people to the U.S. occupation, and that much of the violence is aimed directly at the U.S.; that U.S. withdrawal would remove a key target of the violence.

The Port of Olympia Hearing

On Monday, November 22nd, the Port of Olympia Commissioners met at the Olympia Center. The port, like others in Washington State, is publicly owned and run by three elected commissioners. The current commissioners in Olympia are a conservative group who run a port that has been losing money. By contracting with the military, revenues to the port have increased by about $200,000 a shipment or close to a million dollars for the five shipments in 2004, creating a small surplus and substantially more work for the members of the Longshore Union. Because of the public interest in the militarization of the port and the activities of the week before, there was a turnout of about 150 people at the hearing. Usually there are only a few people in attendance. The great majority of those attending were against the port being used to send military supplies to Iraq, even if it meant taxes would be slightly higher to cover a deficit from the port. Of the approximately 50 people who gave testimony, 40 spoke against the port being used for weapons shipments. Much of the testimony was very eloquent. The hearing was televised on the local community access TV station.

We believe that non-cooperation and visible and active resistance by more and more communities will further opposition to the war and increase the chances for U.S. withdrawal from Iraq.

We pointed out the revenues received yearly by the port were a drop in the bucket compared to the 80 million dollars per year which is the pro-rated share for county residents of the 100 billion dollars being spent yearly on the war. Speakers challenged the argument that we were endangering U.S. troops by trying to limit war supplies from going to Iraq by explaining that these weapons and policies are causing needless death and suffering of the Iraqi people as well as putting U.S. troops at risk. More than 100,000 Iraqis and over 1300 U.S. soldiers and growing daily have been killed since March, 2003. The way to protect and support U.S. troops is not by sending weapons and supplies there but by ending the war. This will create the possibility of peace in Iraq as the U.S. leaving will remove a major cause of fighting.

The way to protect and support U.S. troops is not by sending weapons and supplies there but by ending the war. This will create the possibility of peace in Iraq as the U.S. leaving will remove a major cause of fighting.

To the argument that if the Port of Olympia did not continue to contract with the U.S. military to send supplies to Iraq, the military would use other ports such as Seattle and Tacoma, we responded as follows. We hope our actions will spur residents of nearby ports such as Tacoma and their port commissioners to take similar actions. We believe that non-cooperation and visible and active resistance by more and more communities will further opposition to the war and increase the chances for U.S. withdrawal from Iraq.

One difficult issue is the question of jobs for those loading these ships. At the hearing, the president of the union, Keith Bausch, stated that the International Longshore and Warehouse Union (ILWU) opposes the war with Iraq but supports the shipping of military supplies and the ongoing contract of the port with the military. These are livable wage jobs for their members in a small port. Members of OMJP met with the ILWU leadership of Local 47 a few days after the hearing to open a dialog and had a productive discussion about the war and labor issues. We agreed on jointly organizing a community forum, possibly on Mayday, May 1st, although the ILWU made it clear that they would continue to load the ships. How to increase non-military shipping to create demand to hire the local Longshore union members for sufficient hours is a difficult question.

An organizer from the ILWU pointed out at this meeting that many unions have taken positions against the war, and that there is strong worker opposition to this war. Much of the anti-war movement has not reached out sufficiently to workers. It is necessary for the peace and justice movement to become more inclusive in membership, to include more centrally issues of concern to workers, and to form active coalitions with unions when possible.

The Port of Olympia Commissioners did not budge, basically arguing that theirs was a neutral decision made purely on business principles and that opposition to the war should be directed not at them but to the policy makers in Washington. They ignored calls by Olympia residents for a referendum on whether the port should send weapons to Iraq. We will continue to challenge their policy and future military shipments.

What is to Be Done?

Hopefully, we will do better and more education and outreach in the future about military shipments and the war. We need to discuss in more depth effective strategy and tactics, and improve our efforts to build a movement that incorporates the insights, energy, and actions of people of diverse ages, classes and ideologies. We have a long way to go. Hopefully, this example is of relevance to other organizations, individuals and communities who are committed to justice and peace.

Since the meeting of the Port Commissioners in November, another ship docked, and loaded military supplies headed for Iraq on December 9th and 10th. OMJP organized at short notice a rally of about 40 people at the port against the war and the shipping of supplies. More importantly, there was a productive debriefing and planning meeting on Sunday, December 5th to openly discuss what happened at the port and future strategy and tactics. Some good ideas were put forward and some small steps taken towards building more effective and democratic organization, towards developing a campaign to do better outreach and better planning for actions in 2005 against the militarization of the port and its complicity with U.S. the war effort. Stay tuned!

To end the U.S. occupation in Iraq is a difficult but not impossible task. We need to build a broad-based, grass roots movement using many tactics including non-violent but militant ones to achieve our goals. One part of this movement should be to call attention to the sending of weapons to Iraq.

Peter Bohmer is a member of the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace (OMJP), and faculty member in political economy at the Evergreen State College.

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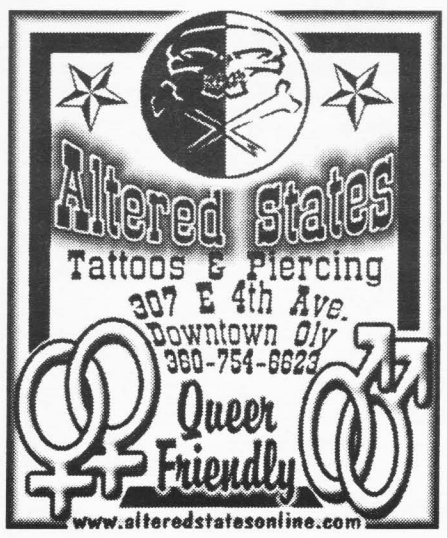

BEFORE YOU FORGET, SUBSCRIBE! SEE PAGE 2

A Phoenix Program for Iraq

In Fallujah, Freedom Isn't Free

by Ron Jacobs

Retina scans to get into your own home. Work details under armed guard. No cars. Military armor on every corner. All men to be shot on sight after curfew. No freedom of movement. These are just some of the details of the new order in Fallujah (and one assumes any other Iraqi city that the US destroys in the future). Somewhere between a concentration camp and what US troops called a strategic hamlet in Vietnam, this is the latest version of Washington's freedom and democracy installation in Iraq. How much clearer does it have to become before the US media and its brainwashed audience admit to themselves that this whole adventure is about domination and control? If there are any arms caches left in Fallujah after the US military finishes its so-called security searches, one can guarantee that these draconian measures being put into place will insure that those weapons will be used against US forces.

Who the hell do the US forces think they are? No matter how many ID badges they make people wear and guns they point in their faces, they will not gain the trust of these people. That moment passed months ago. The oil that Washington wants to control will never be under their control and neither will the people of Iraq. This latest plan-a plan that essentially turns the Iraqi cities into prison camps-acknowledges that the US has lost the battle for many Iraqi hearts and minds and that it can only hope to get its way via coercion and murder. One only has to look at France's Algeria, Israel's Palestine, or Washington's Vietnam to realize the historical possibilities.

Yet, the historical ignorance and arrogance of Washington marches on. Donald Rumsfeld is on record as of December 6, 2004 as saying that he believes US troops will be gone from Iraq within four years. If I hadn't heard about some kind of light at the end of some tunnel during the US war on Vietnam, perhaps I could believe the man. Unfortunately, I remember that light and that tunnel too well. Even Mr. Rumsfeld has some kind of recall of it. He did qualify his statement by saying that this US withdrawal would be based on the "progress" of the Iraqi government that Washington is attempting to create over there. That progress will be measured, of course, in the degree of compliance (nee servitude) said government has with Washington.

How much clearer does it have to become before the US media and its brainwashed audience admit to themselves that this whole adventure is about domination and control?

Indeed, the success of the plan for Fallujah is directly tied to Washington's withdrawal. If the US troops are somehow much more successful in locking up all those Iraqis who despise their presence into strategic hamlets than they were in southern Vietnam, then the troops will be able to leave when Donald Rumsfeld wants them to. If the lockdown of Fallujah and other rebellious Iraqi cities and towns is no more successful than Operation Phoenix was in Vietnam [*see box*], then the US military will leave, but only because they have been driven out. Either way, thousands of Iraqis will be killed solely because they are in the Pentagon's way.

Another, less-publicized aspect of the police state mechanisms that the US hopes to put in place in Fallujah is the creation of so-called work brigades that would essentially force male residents of Fallujah into forced labor battalions. I can almost see these men now-wearing khaki overalls with the flag of the US-created Baghdad regime sewn on the back and their name and address stitched onto the front breast pocket. Just like the chain gangs in the southern states of the US, these men will be working under armed guard. Perhaps they'll even be forced to wear chains around their ankles as they rebuild the city their captors destroyed in the name of their freedom and liberty. I even have a design idea for the city's entry gates. How about an archway with the Arab equivalent of the words "*Arbeit Macht Frei?*"* I mean, what with the napalm our military dropped on the city during its most recent "liberation," we've already provided them with the modern day equivalent of Nazi Germany's ovens. Sure, the incineration of our fellow humans by napalm is not as methodical as that arranged by Adolf Eichmann and his cohorts, but that's only because those who are doing the burning in our name don't have instructions to be selective in whom they kill. After all, their commander has told these soldiers that the Iraqis deserve to die because they wear the face of satan.

***Ron Jacobs**, a former resident of Olympia, is author of The Way the Wind Blew: a history of the Weather Underground, which is just republished by Verso. Jacobs' essay on Big Bill Broonzy is featured in CounterPunch's new collection on music, art and sex, Serpents in the Garden. He can be reached at: rjacobs@zoo.uvm.edu .*

*The sign over the gates of Auschwitz, meaning "Work brings freedom" -or- "Work liberates".

From DouglasValentine.com:

Created by the CIA in Saigon in 1967, **Phoenix** was a computer-driven program aimed at "neutralizing", through assassination, kidnapping, and systematic torture, the civilian infrastructure that supported the insurgency in South Vietnam. It was a terrifying "final solution" that violated the Geneva Conventions and traditional American ideas of human morality.

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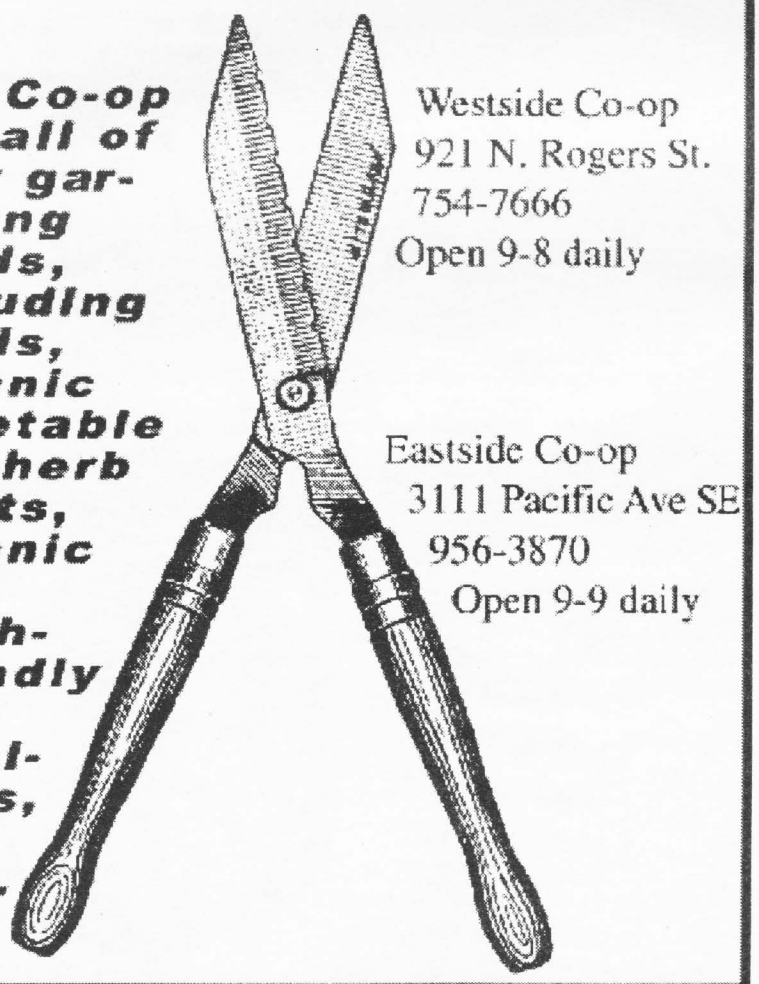

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Progressive college professors are being targeted

WIP editorial: The Olympian editorial board's tactics are both shoddy and disturbing

While we might usually dismiss the "Thumbs-up/ Thumbs-down" feature on the editorial pages of The Olympian as benignly fatuous for the grossly elementary obviousness of each selected "award", a more careful examination reveals a somewhat more sinister pattern. In this "up/down" feature we are regularly treated to a predictable rhythm of sagelike assertions: kindness and charity are *good* (Thumbs-up!) / stealing and hurting people are *bad* (Thumbs-down!) – and usually it's left at that. But all too often, the usually innocent, albeit facile, rhythm (good/bad, good/bad) of the column ends with a near-libelous zinger against some local progressive activist. On Dec.11, 2004, that activist was Larry Mosqueda.

What led to the Olympian's decision to bash Mosqueda? On Dec. 3, they printed an article saying there would be a massive phone-in to officials at the Port of Olympia by citizens objecting to military shipments. The background to this statement is that an Olympian reporter belonged to the OMJP list-serve and forwarded one of Mosqueda's emails to another reporter, who then used quotes from the email in his article, giving the appearance that he talked to Larry directly. However, if the reporter had spoken to anyone in OMJP, it's unlikely, according to OMJP member Alice Zillah, that anyone would have predicted participation to be "massive" - given that it was organized in one day. "We're big and powerful, sure, but we don't over-inflate our own capabilities," said Zillah. So, when the phone-in proved to be less than "expected", The Olympian gave Mosqueda, and OMJP who organized the last minute protest action, the dreaded thumbs-down saying, "The telephone protest... was a dud. The phone-in flopped."

So the Olympian took comments from the OMJP list-serve as though they were direct quotes taken during an interview, over-inflated them into a story, and then rapped Mosqueda and OMJP when the false expectations they had created failed to materialize.

For that, we at WIP have our own editorial comment:

Thumbs down to the Olympian editorial board for, at the very least, shoddy journalism - to say nothing of the transparently smarmy attempt to discredit a distinguished citizen and academic, using the flimsiest of evidence, simply (we suspect) because they disagree with his politics. Such tactics are a disgrace to what should and could be the noble cause and mission of the news media.: a fair and *accurate* provision of the information and analysis we as readers need in order to fullfil our obligations as citizens of a democracy.

Thumbs up to Larry Mosqueda as an exemplary citizen - for 30+ years of principled, tireless work dedicated to the struggle for justice and peace both locally and globally. Especially noteworthy is his bold perseverance despite the potentially chilling effect of baseless condemnation from powerful institutions like the corporate media. Recent letters to the editor are an unfortunate testimony to the effectiveness of such tactics. In today's climate of threat to those who dare to engage in dissent, courage and perseverance such as that demonstrated by Larry Mosqueda is laudable and should serve as an example to us all.

> The future is an infinite succession of presents, and to live now as we think human beings should live, in defiance of all that is bad around us, is itself a marvelous victory.
>
> Howard Zinn

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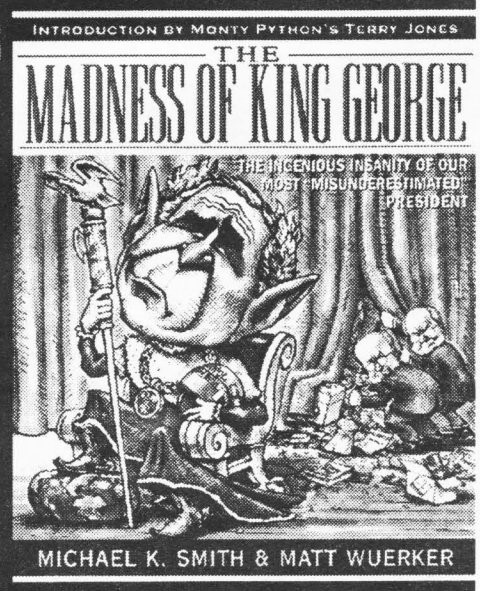
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Larry Mosqueda's letter to the Olympian

The following letter was submitted to The Olympian by Larry Mosqueda on December 18, 2004. As this issue of WIP goes to press, Larry's letter has yet to appear in The Olympian.

Recently a letter criticized me for my peace activities and also had many errors about the war. I do not know the sources of the author's mistaken ideas about Iraq, but I know his sources about me.

As the editors know, on 12/3/04 *The Olympian* published a story which indicated it had interviewed me about urging people to call the Port of Olympia Commissioners about the port being used for the illegal war in Iraq (citizens still have the right to call their elected representatives). *The Olympian* now acknowledges they did not interview me but relied on an intercepted email, later acknowledged in an oblique "clarification" on 12/15/04. *The Olympian* gave the phone-in a "thumbs-down" on 12/11/04 for the number of calls, after *The Olympian* itself set up false expectations.

My status as a professor was mentioned but had nothing to do with the story. There is currently a national movement to try to intimidate progressive professors from speaking out on public issues. That will not succeed here.

But more important than attacks on myself is that the citizens of Thurston County are being made complicit in an illegal and immoral war by the actions of the port. I have discussed this in some detail in my article, "A Duty to Disobey All Unlawful Orders" at www.counterpunch.org, 2/27/03. As I stated, "The idea that those who oppose the Bush plans for war are against the troops is a fundamental lie...support is keeping them home. Support for the troops is not done by lying to them about the purposes and goals of the war and allowing those who will benefit and profit a free ride on the backs of the troops. Support for the troops is not done by making them complicit in an illegal and immoral war-it is done by exposing the lies and giving the troops an opportunity not to be complicit in war crimes."

Peace-even when it is not Christmas.

Larry Mosqueda, Ph.D.

There is currently a national movement to try to intimidate progressive professors from speaking out on public issues. That will not succeed here.

The "Patriotic" Attack on Democracy and Higher Education

by Robert Jensen

Although this article was written on October 22, 2001, just after the attacks on 9/11 of that year, the topic is all too relevant here and now: real and/ or potential threats to free speech and academic freedom . As Evergreen State College professor Steve Niva said recently, "It really seems like the climate has taken a sharp turn for the even worse in terms of basic assumptions about speech and my sense is the more desparate the Bush administration gets in Iraq the more its critics will be vilified across the culture."

There are more current writings on this subject than the one offered here,and we will cover this issue more thoroughly in future issues of WIP. For now, we choose this one, in part, for its brevity relative to the space availble at this time.

Based on the mail of the past month, a lot of people still want me fired from my teaching position at the University of Texas for my antiwar writings in the aftermath of Sept. 11.

Many accuse me of being "anti-American," but ironically it is their call to limit political debate that is anti-American, for it abandons the core commitment of a democracy to the sovereignty of the people and the role of citizens in forming public policy.

Some of the folks writing to me — and to the president of my university — do not mince words: Jensen is not supporting the war effort. So, he should be fired. *("Patriotic" cont. on page 10)*

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Corporate Civil Rights Impede Progress of Activists

Jacqui Brown Miller

"Government of the people, by the people..." these words from Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address still touch the heart of our civic culture. Today, however, corporations are empowered to exert far more influence over government than citizens. The rise of corporate dominance promotes a "government of, by, and for corporations." Corporate cash elects our politicians. Corporate lobbyists write our laws. In turn, these laws affect almost every aspect of our lives, including the messages we hear on the airwaves and, thus, the way we think. They affect the air we breathe, our stress levels, our standard of living, our privacy, and our safety as workers and consumers. Indeed, three of four U.S. citizens feel corporations hold too much power and would change it if they could.

A national grassroots movement is gaining momentum. It aims to rein in the power of corporations. This movement is comprised, in part, of activists who were once single-issue advocates, but found passing people-friendly laws difficult in the face of corporate opposition. These activists believe they have found a way to put people back in control. People who consider themselves to be in the mainstream are quickly catching on. Now, 'Main Street America' is questioning whether participation by corporations in our body politic is legitimate. People across the country are beginning to discuss how to reform the legal doctrines that give corporations the means to obtain and wield power over our government.

Two little-understood legal doctrines play a pivotal role in making it seem like corporations rule the world. The first is "corporate personhood." The second is that money used to influence politics is protected as free speech (Corporate "civil rights"). These doctrines allow company owners to use the corporate structure—which was once only a mechanism to raise capital for business projects— as a mechanism to funnel money into government in order to secure corporate-favorable laws. Because this ability is classified as a civil right, which the government cannot violate, citizens find it beyond their authority to pass laws that impose meaningful restrictions on this "speech" – such as campaign finance reform.

"Corporate Personhood" is a shorthand phrase to describe how the U.S. Supreme Court classified corporations as people under the U.S. Constitution's Fourteenth Amendment and thus granted corporations civil rights, which were to be reserved for citizens. This concept became law in 1886 in Santa Clara Co. v. S. Pacific Railroad. Since then, the Supreme Court has extended other Bill of Right's protections to corporations, such as rights against unlawful searches and seizures under the Fourth Amendment and, most importantly, free speech under the First Amendment. "Money as speech" describes a 1976 Supreme Court ruling, in Buckley v. Valeo, that monetary donations and expenditures designed to influence the political process constitute free speech protected under the First Amendment.

Do U.S. citizens live in a democracy or under minority rule?

American government operates under minority rule, relegating democracy to the American mythos. Laws defining corporate behavior, shareholder primacy laws, and the doctrines that corporations are people and money is speech, operate together to create minority rule.

If corporations are people, they are super humans. They possess characteristics enabling them to accumulate wealth far exceeding that which most citizens can accumulate. They can live forever and in many nations at once, sever parts of themselves and still function well, give limited liability to corporate managers, and are immune from jail.

Laws defining corporate behavior, shareholder primacy laws, and the doctrines that corporations are people and money is speech, operate together to create minority rule.

Also, unlike people, corporations are motivated to pursue endless growth and profit, even if it comes at the expense of human rights, social injustice, and environmental degradation. In fact, under U.S. "shareholder primacy" laws, corporate managers are duty bound to use their best efforts and all legally allowable means to pursue profit for the shareholders. The more costs company managers can "externalize"—or shift away from the company—the better for shareholders. Under the concept of externalization, the government pays for the social services needed by employees not paid a living wage, and the public deals with the cancer caused from carcinogens pumped into the environment. Corporations have taken this one step further. Through their participation in government, corporations demand laws allowing even more costs to be externalized or shifted onto the public to benefit shareholders.

It is imperative that activists learn how to reverse this trend and help to create a system in which people, not corporations, govern.

It is the minority of Americans who benefit from stock ownership, shareholder primacy laws, and corporate externalization practices. This is true even though many citizens hold much of their retirement funds in mutual funds. Ten percent of the U.S. population owns 81% of the stock and 88% of the bonds. One percent of the U.S. population owns 60% of the stock and 40% of the total wealth. (George Draffan; Endgame.org.)

How does all this translate into minority rule? The corporation is operated to benefit shareholders, and most stock is owned by a minority of Americans. Corporations exert the dominant force over our government, demanding laws that primarily benefit these shareholders. When the Court granted corporations the ability to participate in government as if they were citizens, by imbuing them with civil rights and classifying money as free speech, it enabled the minority to outmaneuver and overpower the majority on the political playing field.

The corporate minority's most effective outmaneuvering tool is out spending— or out speaking— the majority. Corporate contributors understand that in today's political system, re-election requires big money that can not be gotten without doing the bidding of corporations. In his 1998 book "In Washington on $10 Million a Day," Ken Silverstein reveals that in 1996, Philip Morris paid $4.2 million for campaign contributions, Georgia Pacific $527,000, AT&T paid $1.8 million, Pfizer $775,000, Boeing $170,000, ARCO, $1.3 million, Lockheed $1.26 million, Fedex $1.9 million, and Dow Chemical $578,000. Corporations spend even more money on lobbying than on campaign contributions. In 1996, Philip Morris paid $19.6 million for lobbying programs, Georgia Pacific spent $8.9 million, AT&T $8.4 million, Pfizer $8.3 million, Boeing $5.2 million, ARCO $4.3 million, Lockheed $3.5 million, Fedex $3.1 million, and Dow Chemical $1.5 million. Silverstein estimates that there are 40,000 to 80,000 lobbyists in Washington, D.C. Indeed, lobbyists outnumber Congress by at least 75-1.

This translates into minority rule with the wealthy elite having the dominant influence over government. When money is speech, speech is not free, and one's speech is commensurate with the amount one can spend to fund access to media, candidates, legislatures, and regulatory agencies. If money talks, we the people can never speak as loudly with our words as corporations can with money's unlimited amplification. In a society in which a minority sector controls Government, democracy is no more than a myth.

Single-issue advocates are beginning to realize that even large national nonprofit organizations, which are funded primarily by citizens in an effort to compete against the corporate lobby, find it difficult to obtain the laws for which they advocate in the face of Goliath corporate influence. It is imperative that activists learn how to reverse this trend and help to create a system in which people, not corporations, govern.

Corporate personhood is constitutionally illegitimate and should be reversed.

The structure of the Constitution demonstrates that the Bill of Rights was created to protect natural people, not corporations. The Constitution mentions only "we the people" and government, creating a legal dichotomy between them. Under the Constitution, people are free and sovereign and the government is subordinate. People possess the only power, which they lend to government, through a representative republic, so that there is a government of, by, and for the people. Also under the Constitution, people maintain inalienable rights—civil liberties— granted to them by a higher being.

Corporations are not mentioned because the founders did not intend for them to play a meaningful role in our body politic. Corporations were seen as artificial entities created by the people through the people's government in order to serve the public good. In this role, corporations would remain subservient to the people and play no role in government.

Knowing about corporate civil rights and how to help dismantle them is a must for every environmental and social justice activist.

Single-issue advocates—as opposed to abolish-corporate-personhood advocates— often are frustrated because government seems only to act in line with the moneyed and powerful few. Single-issue advocates, while smart, hard-working, and well-intentioned, face the reality that due to corporate personhood and money as speech, corporations use steamroller politics – applying constant pressure constantly and everywhere. Thus, in addition to focusing on single issues, it is important to address the systemic reasons for this power dynamic. If this is not done, single-issue advocates will probably find true success perpetually elusive.

Coalition building between single-issue advocates and abolish-corporate-personhood activists will be a key to effectuating change. This is because corporate civil rights are played out in the context of single issues. If you scratch beneath the surface of any environmental or social justice problem, you will find corporate personhood as a root cause.

I'm just one person...

We have come to the point in the history of our nation where "we the people" are not in charge of the important decisions made in the economic and political sphere. There are systemic problems blocking our control over government. Until we face these problems head on, we will not be in a position to create the rules we need live in a just, humane, and sustainable society. We cannot enjoy democratic society if corporate personhood and money as speech exist.

We must take corrective action. By doing something positive, even if it is small, negative trends are altered and transformed. Every little thing counts and all that we do matters. As Margaret Mead said, "never doubt that a small group of thoughtful citizens can change the world. Indeed, it is the only thing that ever has."

Jacqui Brown Miller is an attorney actively involved with ReclaimDemocracy.org and the Campaign to Abolish Corporate Power and Assert the People's rights by the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. If you would like more information about his topic or would like to become involved in local actions to abolish corporate civil rights, please contact Jacqui at jacquibernie@comcast.net.

♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣ ♣

The War and the Anti-War Movement

The US has lost in Iraq... and that's a good thing

by Robert Jensen

The United States has lost the war in Iraq, and that's a good thing. By that I don't mean that the loss of American and Iraqi lives is to be celebrated. The death and destruction are numbingly tragic, and the suffering in Iraq is hard for most of us in the United States to comprehend. The tragedy is compounded because these deaths haven't protected Americans or brought freedom to Iraqis — they have come in the quest to extend the American empire in this so-called "new American century, as some right-wing ideologues have named our future.

So, as a U.S. citizen, I welcome the U.S. defeat, for a simple reason: It isn't the defeat of the United States — its people or their ideals — but of that empire. And it's essential the American empire be defeated and dismantled.

Making that statement in the United States, as I often have done over the past year, guarantees that one will be attacked as a traitor by those on the center and the right; in their world, to oppose any U.S. military action is by definition treason because, in their world, the U.S. military is always on the side of truth, freedom, justice and democracy. These people condemn me, in the words of one who wrote to berate me, for engaging in "constant introspection of what you think are the flaws in America. For these people, whatever potential flaws there are in U.S. society or politics are so minor as to be meaningless, hence any critical moral assessment is wasted energy. Better to move forward boldly, they argue, lauding George W. Bush for exactly that.

But stating that level of intensity of opposition to the U.S. assault on Iraq also opens one up to criticism from many liberals who complain that such remarks are callous; I've been scolded for not taking into consideration the feelings of Americans whose friends and loved ones serving in the military are at risk in Iraq. Other liberals have argued that such blunt talk is ill-advised on strategic grounds; it will alienate the vast majority of Americans who reflexively support the U.S. military for emotional reasons.

The fact that the Bush administration says we are fighting for freedom and democracy ... does not make it so. We must help U.S. citizens look at the reality, no matter how painful. Iraq is the place to start to explain how this contemporary empire works.

But now is precisely the time to make these kinds of blunt statements. The 2004 elections made it clear just how marginal the anti-empire/global-justice movement in the United States is at this moment in history. There is no hope of success in watering down a message in a vain quest to accommodate the maximal number of people for a short-term campaign; that kind of attempt in the run-up to the U.S. invasion of Iraq failed.

Although the worldwide turnout for the mass demonstrations on Feb. 15, 2003, was inspiring, we shouldn't delude ourselves about the composition of the crowds in the United States. Many of those anti-war demonstrators were motivated by simple hatred of the Bush administration; if it had been a Democratic president taking us to war, those folks likely would have stayed home. Another segment of demonstrators was there not through the long-term work of organizing and public education, but because of a rejection of the Bush ideologues that was based more in a visceral fear than in analysis; without a connection to a movement, they disappeared from public protest once the bombs started falling. In my estimation, at best only a third of the people who participated in that mass mobilization had any meaningful connection to an anti-empire/global-justice movement that looked beyond the moment.

So, there is no short-term strategy for victory that makes any sense if one takes seriously a left, anti-authoritarian political project. That doesn't mean there is no hope for left politics in the United States, but only that we have to avoid naiveté and wishful thinking: We are in a period of movement building — trying to identify a core group, radicalize and clarify the analysis, and begin the process of finding ways to speak to a broader public that is (1) intensely propagandized through a highly ideological news media to accept hyperpatriotic politics, and at the same time (2) encouraged to be politically passive and disengaged from meaningful participation. That kind of change can't happen overnight. We are faced with the task of literally rebuilding U.S. politics.

This isn't an argument for self-indulgent ideological purity or dogmatism; in fact, just the reverse. It's an argument for carefully assessing where we are — both in terms of the state of the power of the empire worldwide and of domestic U.S. politics — and charting a path that can do more than put forward an argument for a softer-and-gentler empire, a la John Kerry and the mainstream Democrats. That project, we can hope, is dead forever (though many Democrats hold onto the notion they can ride it back to power).

What is the message that the U.S. left needs to refine? We have to find a way to explain to people that the fact the Bush administration says we are fighting for freedom and democracy (having long ago abandoned fictions about weapons of mass destruction and terrorist ties) does not make it so. We must help U.S. citizens look at the reality, no matter how painful. Iraq is the place to start to explain how this contemporary empire works.

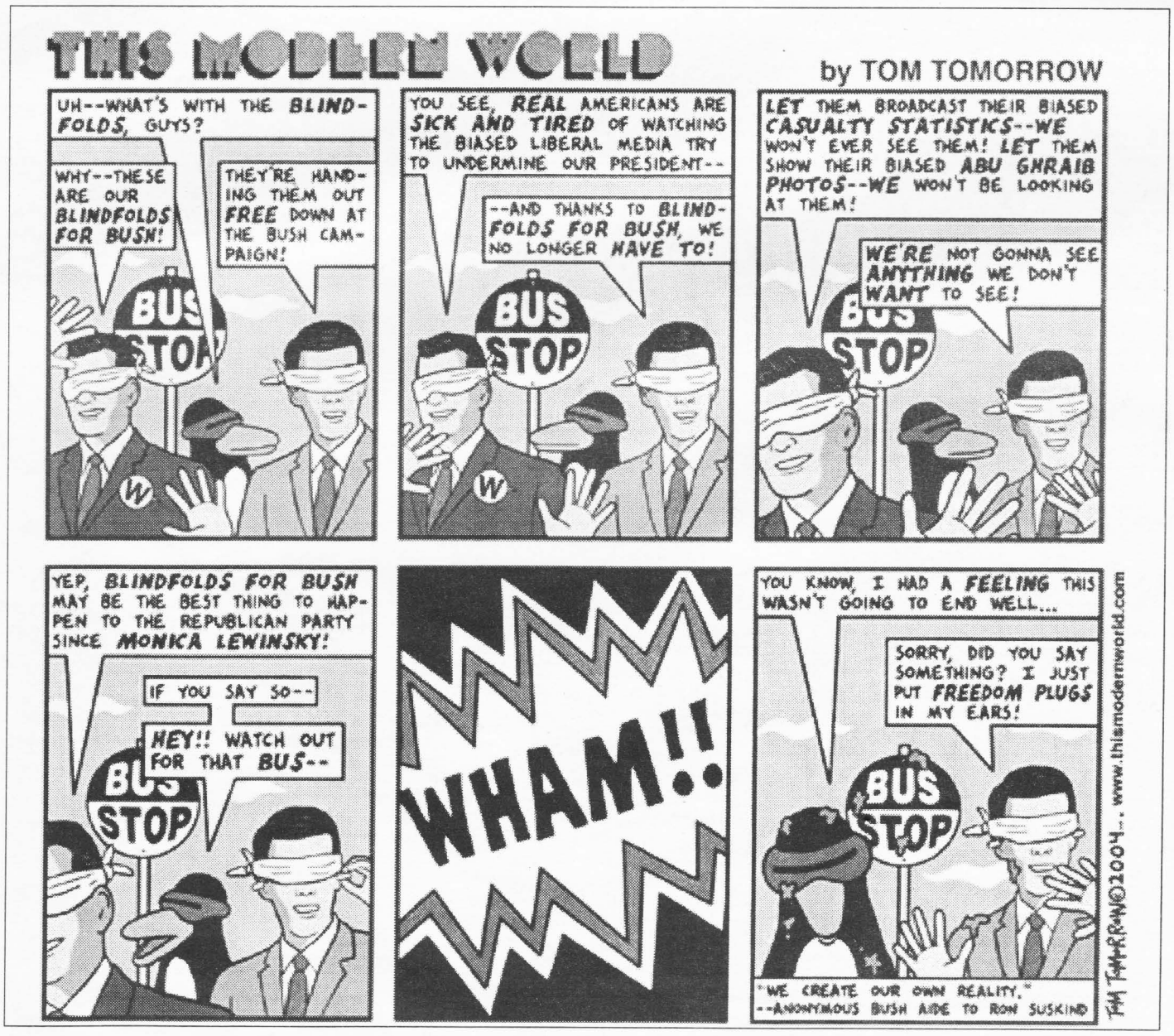
The people of Iraq are no doubt better off without Saddam Hussein's despised regime, but that does not prove our benevolent intentions nor guarantee the United States will work to bring meaningful democracy to Iraq. Throughout history, our support for democracies has depended on their support for U.S. policy. When democratic governments follow an independent course, they typically end up as targets of U.S. power, military or economic. Ask Venezuela's Hugo Chavez or Haiti's Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

In Iraq, the Bush administration invaded not to liberate but to extend and deepen U.S. domination. When Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld says the Iraq war "has nothing to do with oil — literally nothing to do with it, he is telling a complete lie. But when Bush says, "We have no territorial ambitions; we don't seek an empire, he is telling a half-truth. The United States doesn't want to absorb Iraq nor take direct possession of its oil. That's not the way of empire today — it's about control over the flow of oil and oil profits, not ownership. Vice President Dick Cheney hit on the truth when in 1990 (serving then as secretary of defense) he told the Senate Armed Services Committee: "Whoever controls the flow of Persian Gulf oil has a stranglehold not only on our economy but also on the other countries of the world as well.

So, in a world that runs on oil, the nation that controls the flow of oil has great strategic power. U.S. policymakers want leverage over the economies of competitors — Western Europe, Japan and China — which are more dependent on Middle Eastern oil. Hence the longstanding U.S. policy of support for reactionary regimes (Saudi Arabia), dictatorships (Iran under the Shah) and regional military surrogates (Israel), aimed at maintaining control.

The Bush administration has invested money and lives in making Iraq a platform from which the United States can project power — from permanent U.S. bases, officials hope. That requires not the liberation of Iraq, but its subordination. But most Iraqis don't want to be subordinated, which is why the United States in some sense lost the war on the

("US lost" cont. on next page)


THIS MODERN WORLD
by TOM TOMORROW
UH--WHAT'S WITH THE BLINDFOLDS, GUYS?
WHY--THESE ARE OUR BLINDFOLDS FOR BUSH!
THEY'RE HANDING THEM OUT FREE DOWN AT THE BUSH CAMPAIGN!
YOU SEE, REAL AMERICANS ARE SICK AND TIRED OF WATCHING THE BIASED LIBERAL MEDIA TRY TO UNDERMINE OUR PRESIDENT--
--AND THANKS TO BLINDFOLDS FOR BUSH, WE NO LONGER HAVE TO!
LET THEM BROADCAST THEIR BIASED CASUALTY STATISTICS--WE WON'T EVER SEE THEM! LET THEM SHOW THEIR BIASED ABU GHRAIB PHOTOS--WE WON'T BE LOOKING AT THEM!
WE'RE NOT GONNA SEE ANYTHING WE DON'T WANT TO SEE!
YEP, BLINDFOLDS FOR BUSH MAY BE THE BEST THING TO HAPPEN TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY SINCE MONICA LEWINSKY!
IF YOU SAY SO--
HEY!! WATCH OUT FOR THAT BUS--
WHAM!!
YOU KNOW, I HAD A FEELING THIS WASN'T GOING TO END WELL...
SORRY, DID YOU SAY SOMETHING? I JUST PUT FREEDOM PLUGS IN MY EARS!
"WE CREATE OUR OWN REALITY."
--ANONYMOUS BUSH AIDE TO RON SUSKIND
BUS STOP
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("US lost" cont. from page 9)

day it invaded; one lesson of post-World War II history is that occupying armies generate resistance that, inevitably, prevails over imperial power.

Most Iraqis are glad Hussein is gone, and most want the United States gone. When we admit defeat and pull out — not if, but when — the fate of Iraqis depends in part on whether the United States (1) makes good on legal and moral obligations to pay reparations, and (2) allows international institutions to aid in creating a truly sovereign Iraq. We shouldn't expect politicians to do either without pressure. An anti-empire movement — the joining of antiwar forces with the movement to reject corporate globalization — must help create that pressure. Failure will add to the suffering in Iraq and more clearly mark the United States as a rogue state and an impediment to a just and peaceful world.

So, I talk openly in public about why I,m glad for the U.S. military defeat in Iraq, but with no joy in my heart. We should all carry a profound sense of sadness at where decisions made by U.S. policymakers — not just the gang in power today but a string of Republican and Democratic administrations — have left us, the Iraqis and the world. But that sadness should not keep Americans from pursuing the most courageous act of citizenship in the United States today: Pledging to dismantle the American empire.

Here is what U.S. citizens have to come to terms with if the planet is to survive: The planet's resources do not belong to the United States. The century is not America's. We own neither the world nor time. And if we don't give up the quest — if we don't find our place in the world instead of on top of the world — there is little hope for a safe, sane, and sustainable future.

***Robert Jensen** is a journalism professor at the University of Texas at Austin and the author of "Citizens of the Empire: The Struggle to Claim Our Humanity" from City Lights Books. He can be reached at rjensen@uts.cc.utexas.edu.*

("Patriotic" cont. from pg 7)

Other people, perhaps aware that such a call violates any reasonable conception of free speech and academic freedom, take a slightly more nuanced position: Because Jensen is so political in public, he cannot possibly teach in a fair and objective manner (though none of them has ever visited my classroom). They reach the same conclusion: He should be fired.

If I had supported the president's decisions and endorsed a military strike, would anyone have suggested I should be fired? Clearly not; many academics have done that without criticism.

Both arguments are attacks on any meaningful conception of democracy and higher education. Let's test the logic of those calling for my firing.

In several essays between Sept. 11 and Oct. 7 (posted on CounterPunch and at the No War Collective site, I (along with many others in the antiwar movement) argued against military retaliation, on moral and practical grounds — innocent civilians abroad likely will die, making future terrorist attacks more likely by deepening the anger and resentment against the United States in the Arab and Muslim world. Once the war [in Afghanistan] began, I continued to oppose the reckless Bush policy that has created a humanitarian disaster in Afghanistan as the war blocks significant food distribution and the civilian death toll mounts. Events in the world suggest this analysis coming from opponents of the war has been painfully accurate.

Throughout, I have suggested that Americans should confront the ugly history of U.S. attacks on civilians in such places as Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Middle East to understand why so many around the world see us not as the defender of freedom but as a violent bully.

If I had supported the president's decisions and endorsed a military strike, would anyone have suggested I should be fired? Clearly not; many academics have done that without criticism.

Whatever the merits of either the prowar or antiwar position, one thing is inescapable: Both are political. So, my correspondents' real objections cannot be that I am political, but instead that my political ideas are unacceptable to them.

Whatever the merits of either the prowar or antiwar position, one thing is inescapable: Both are political. So, my correspondents' real objections cannot be that I am political, but instead that my political ideas are unacceptable to them. That means their actual argument is that in times of crisis, certain analysis and the way in which U.S. foreign policy — so often cruel, callous and indifferent to the suffering of innocent people — must be understood as part of this story.

Those are political arguments. No matter what one thinks of the soundness of the arguments, expressing them is an act of citizenship. In a democracy, we do not surrender to leaders the right to make policy undisturbed by the people.

If people want to eliminate spirited political discussion from the universities, what is left of higher education?

If they want to punish the exercise of citizenship, what is left of democracy?

***Robert Jensen** is a professor of journalism at the University of Texas at Austin, a member of the Nowar Collective and author of the forthcoming book Writing Dissent: Taking Radical Ideas from the Margins to the Mainstream. He can be reached at rjensen@uts.cc.utexas.edu*

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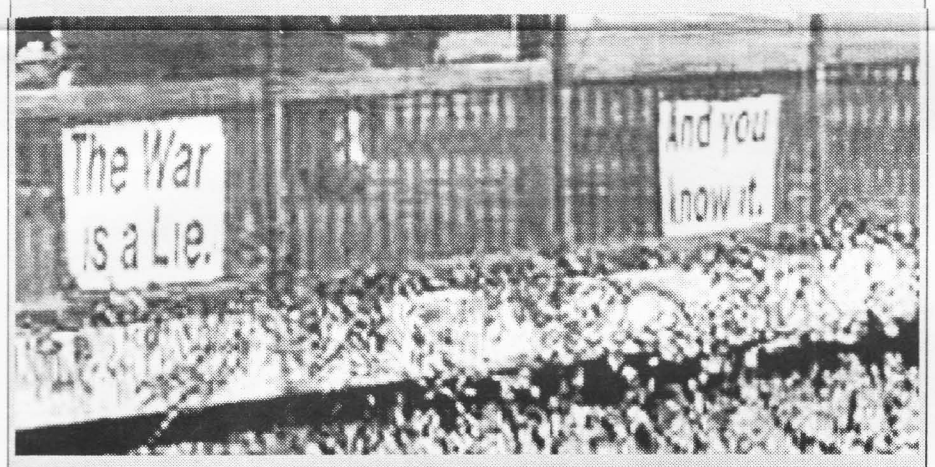

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Thanks for keeping DN! on TCTV!

Media Island International thanks the following individuals and group for their recent financial contributions to support Thurston Community TV's airing of the daily Pacifica Network show "Democracy Now!".

Anonymous	Margery Sayre	
Elizabeth Triffitt	Voices for Change	Chris Synodis
Georgene Vogt	Sandia Slaby	Bob Jacobs
Bernard Vogt	Lyn Hertz	Jeanie Mykland
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We celebrate having received enough donations from our community to fully cover 2005's budget for this collaborative project with TCTV. These contributions have gone directly to Media Island's continued membership to TCTV and for the necessary satellite access, together which enable Media Island to be the sponsor and make this independent coverage of public affairs, news and analysis - an "exception to the rulers" - available for airing on TCTV (**weekdays at 4pm on Channels 22 or 29** in Thurston County.) This response to our request for donations exemplifies grassroots,non-corporate, community-supported media! Thanks Olympia!

Now, let's keep informing friends, neighbors, and relatives, both here in Thurston County and across the nation, about such examples of independent media, so that more Americans get more of the truth than the corporate media wants us to have!

Take action!

Inauguration Week

SAT JAN 15, noon - 1 pm, on the grounds of **Capitol Campus in Olympia**; Death Tableau (a silent, motionless scene) & Memorial; 1,000 Puget Sound residents will lie as if dead on the grounds; each will wear a sign, "x100," & will represent 100 slain Iraqi civilians; nametags of the actual dead will also be provided & worn. Photographs will be taken of this death tableau. Names of those civilians killed in the war will be read during that memorial hour, & leaders from various religious faiths will offer prayer & song to further honor the dead. "100 Thousand & Counting..." Campaign, a non-partisan, non-violent, educational outreach campaign created to HONOR THE IRAQI CIVILIANS KILLED thus far in the Iraq war, inform the American people about that significant and needless loss of innocent life, and appeal to both national and international leadership to end the war. This Campaign acknowledges the tragic loss of ALL life in the Iraq war. The lives of over 1,400 U.S. troops and Coalition forces have been lost since March 2003. The Campaign focuses on innocent Iraqi civilians because their disproportionate number of dead in their occupied homeland grossly violates national and international law; and their losses have been drowned by the rhetoric surrounding the war, and underreported, overshadowed or ignored by the media at large. We believe if America is to finally summon her collective voice against the Iraq war, the unjust and illegal Iraqi civilian deaths must be confronted in a significant way. endorsed by Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action, Media Island, Veterans For Peace, VFP 109 Rachel Corrie Chapter, Voices in the Wilderness, Western Washington Fellowship of Reconciliation, and many more. participants please register at http://www.100thousandandcounting.org, info stout_trout@yahoo.com.

SAT JAN 15, 9 a.m., at GZ, 16159 Clear Creek Road NW, **Poulsbo; The Ground Zero Center for Nonviolent Action** (GZ) invites you to CELEBRATE MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.'S BIRTHDAY by taking a stand AGAINST NUCLEAR WEAPONS. GZ will sponsor a vigil and nonviolent direct action at the Trident Nuclear Submarine Base in Bangor, WA. This base, located only 14 miles west of Seattle, has the largest arsenal of nuclear weapons in the world. The day begins with a Nonviolence training; Noon Brown bag lunch. GZ provides soup, coffee and hot chocolate; 1 p.m. Program, 1:45 Leave GZ to walk 1/2 mile to the base gate. Rides available, 2:15 Vigil at the Bangor gate, 2:30 Nonviolent direct action for those who participated in nonviolence training during the morning, 3:00 Return to GZ, 3:30 Closing circle. Bring lunch, signs, warm, waterproof clothes and a donation to support Ground Zero's work. info Alice Zillah at (360) 357-7705 or alicezillah@yahoo.com, driving directions, http://www.gzcenter.o

THURS JAN 20, 7:00 to 9:00 AM: Join the Olympia Movement for Justice and Peace as we gather at **intersections throughout Olympia, Lacey, and Tumwater** holding STOP THE WAR signs, as well as signs about all aspects of Bush's failed policies. On this day in particular, as Bush is sworn in for a second term, we need to continue to be visible in our demands to end the war and bring the troops home now, and in support of a just, equitable, and peaceful society. To sign up for an intersection, contact Steven Kant at stopthewar@workingsystems.com, or (360) 943-7640 x131.

THURS JAN 20, "Not One Damn Dime Day" in America. Those who oppose what is happening in our name in Iraq can speak up with a 24-hour national boycott of all forms of consumer spending. Please **DON'T SPEND MONEY**. The object is simple. Remind the people in power that the WAR IN IRAQ IS IMMORAL and illegal; that they are responsible for starting it and that it is their responsibility to stop it. "Not One Damn Dime Day" is to remind them, too, that they work for the people of the United States of America, not for the international corporations and K Street lobbyists who represent the corporations and funnel cash into American politics. "Not One Damn Dime Day" is about supporting the troops. The politicians put the troops in harm's way.

THURS JAN 20, 2 pm, at **Westlake Park, 4th and Pine, in downtown Seattle**; War Without End? Round Ups & Detentions? Police State Restrictions? The Whole Bush Agenda? Not In Our Name Seattle will host a convergence rally with Music and Speak-Out. The Seattle Not In Our Name Project is calling for citywide actions to declare continuing and intensifying RESISTANCE TO THE BUSH AGENDA OF WAR AND REPRESSION on Inauguration Day. NION is calling for neighborhood gatherings followed by street or sidewalk marches, car caravans, or group bus rides to Westlake Park, and for school and campus walk-outs that march to Westlake Park, and for for diverse and creative actions and events throughout the day and night that can come together and show the power of our numbers and unity at the convergence rally. info 206-322-3813 or seattle@notinourname.net or http://www.notinourname-seattle.net. If you are interested in carpooling from Olympia for the demonstration, contact Alice Zillah at (360) 357-7705 or alicezillah@yahoo.com.

THURS JAN 20, 5 p.m., at the **Federal Building, 2nd & Marion, downtown Seattle**; Seattle ANSWER (Act Now Stop War End Racism) will hold a COUNTER INAUGURAL DEMONSTRATION. End the Occupation of Iraq! Bring the Troops Home Now! End Occupation: From Palestine to Haiti, Afghanistan, Korea, the Philippines & Everywhere! Money for People's Needs, Not the pentagon War machine! Defend Civil Liberties and Civil Rights! Stand Against Racism and Bigotry at Home and Abroad! Information: 206-568-1661.

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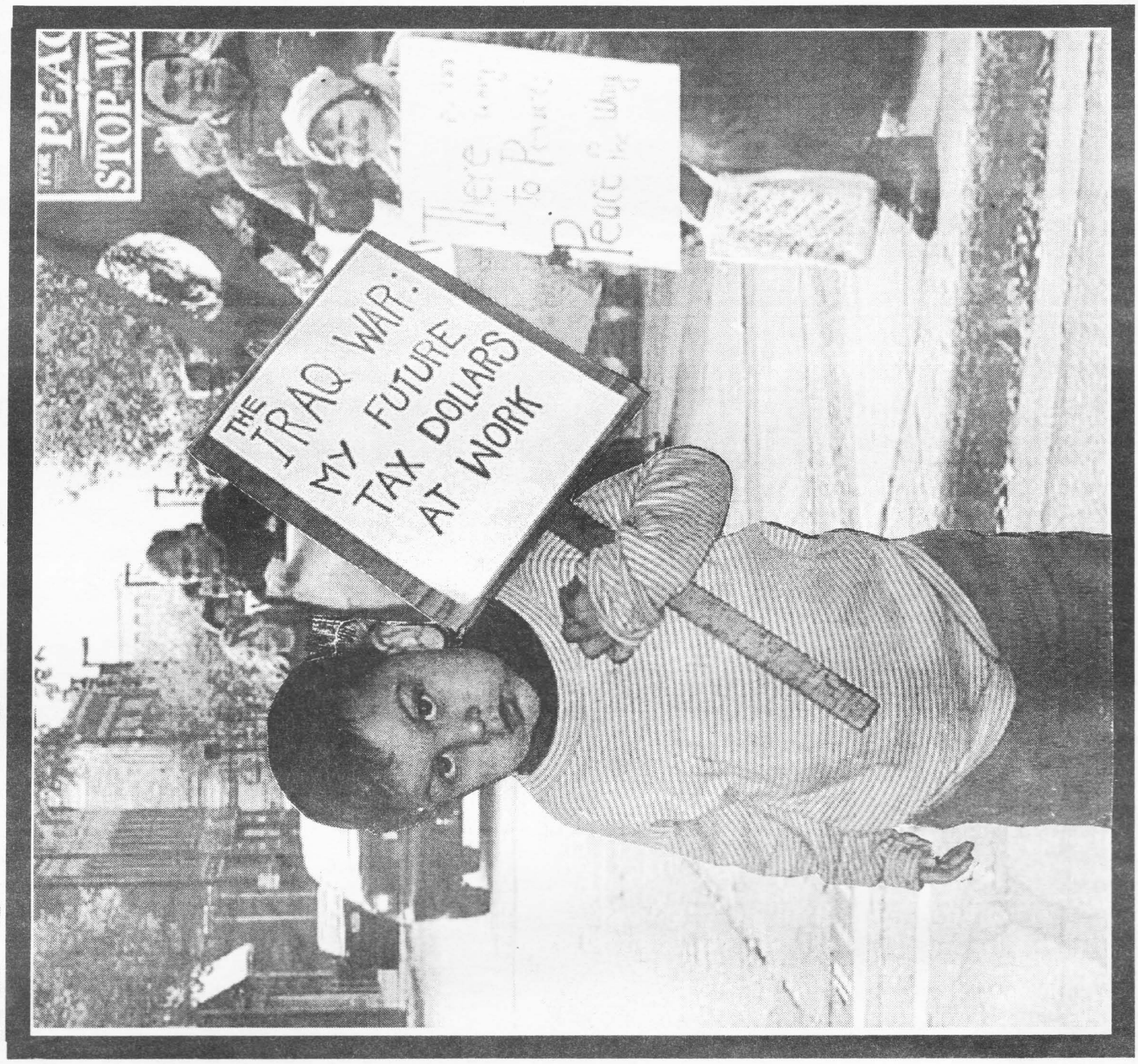

Contents

1
100,000 & counting: An ancient fable revisited
by Deb Langhans
Building a movement against the shipment of weapons to Iraq
by Peter Bohmer
4
Safe Food for Change
by Mitch Hopkins
6
A Phoenix program for Iraq: In Fallujah, freedom isn't free
by Ron Jacobs
7
Progressive professors are being targeted
WIP editorial and a letter by Larry Mosqueda
The "Patriotic" attack on democracy and higher education
by Robert Jensen
8
Corporate civil rights impede progress of activists
by Jacqui Brown Miller
9
The US has lost in Iraq and that's a good thing
by Robert Jensen

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